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The role of *a priori* cross-border migration after extreme climate events: The case of the Philippines after typhoon Haiyan

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Abstract

The Philippine archipelago of 7,107 islands is known for being one of the most vulnerable countries to climatic change. It has also been known for its cross-border migrant workers, who comprise 10 per cent of the whole population. In this paper, we discuss the role of a priori cross-border migration in strengthening international humanitarian response to the negative impacts brought by typhoon Haiyan in 2013. The response has been driven by either familial affiliation of cross-border migrants to the affected provinces or national affiliation of cross-border migrants to the Philippines itself. These two types of networks also lead to two different but not mutually exclusive emerging systemic responses to environmental change and here we draw parallelisms with typhoon Ketsana in 2009. First, familial affiliation of those affected reinforces migration through immigration relief opportunities such as those offered by Canada and United States. Second, cross-border Filipino migrants, either with familial affiliation or not to typhoon victims, become transnational activists during extreme weather events in the Philippines affecting at least 900 000 families. Drawing on interviews with “transnational activists” and on personal accounts and experience of the authors in becoming transnational activists, this paper postulates that socio-economic cross-border migration can support the demands of environmental changes at the onset and that the dialogue and relationship between the phenomena of environmental change and mobility can be approached through analyzing transnational migrant networks in the context of cosmopolitanism.

Keywords: environmental migration, cross-border migration, transnational activism, cosmopolitanism

1. Introduction

1.1 The Philippine islands and its climate vulnerability profile

The Philippines is an archipelago of 7 107 islands, with a population of around 92 million (NCSB 2010). With a total area of approximately 300,000 square kilometers (sq. km.), the Philippines is located in Southeast Asia, close to the equator and on the Pacific Ring of Fire (PSA [2014]). Its mean annual temperature values range from 19.5 degrees Celsius in mountain areas up to 28.2 degrees Celsius in small islands (Amadore 2005). The Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical, and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA) noted temperature anomalies or departures from the years 1971-2000 normal values during the period of years 1951-2010. The observations indicated an increase of 0.65 degrees Celsius or an average of 0.01 degrees Celsius increase per year (PAGASA [2014]). Maximum (daytime) temperatures have increased by 0.36 degrees Celsius while minimum (night time) temperatures have increased by 1.0 degrees Celsius during the last 60 years (ibid).

On average, 20 tropical cyclones form and/or cross the Philippine Area of Responsibility (PAR) every year. PAGASA's [2014] study notes a high variability over the decades and a very slight increase in the number of tropical cyclones with maximum sustained winds of greater than 150 kilometres per hour (kph) and above being exhibited during an El Niño event. This is consistent with Emanuel's (2005) study¹ (quoted in Amadore 2005) which suggests that "the annual average storm peak wind speed summed over the North Atlantic and eastern and western North Pacific has also increased by about 50 percent." In addition, a slight increase in tropical cyclone passage has been noted in the Visayas region during the period of 1971-2000 compared to the periods 1951-1980 and 1960-1990 (PAGASA [2014]). The studies of PAGASA [2014] and Amadore (2005) both found no significant trends in rainfall indices, but noted increasing frequency and increasing rainfall amounts, respectively. These have manifested in several tropical cyclones that have been categorized as "extreme climate events," which is qualitatively characterized as, "[having] one thing in common – persistent torrential rains, causing landslides and flash floods, killing

¹ The study is based on the Potential Destructiveness Index (PDI) of tropical cyclones from 1949 to 2003.

people and destroying properties and the environment along its path” (Jabines & Inventor 2007). These characterize several typhoons that hit the Philippines during the period of 2000-2013. These also constitute the “exposure” component in the definition of vulnerability, which has been summed up by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC 2001) as a function of exposure (the degree of climate stress), sensitivity (the degree to which a system responds to a given change in climate, whether beneficial or harmful effects), and adaptive capacity (the degree to which a system can adjust its practices, processes, or structures and consequently moderate or offset the potential for damage or take advantage of opportunities created by the situation).

Several studies have assessed the Philippines to have a high vulnerability to climate change due to its high exposure and apparent low adaptive capacity. Jabines and Inventor (2007) point to the “geographical features, low level of economic development and exposure exacerbated by poor access to resources” as factors contributing to high vulnerability. The United Nations University Institute for Environment and Human Security (UNU-EHS) ranked the Philippines as third in terms of high disaster risk in its WorldRiskReport 2011. They have attributed the rankings to “extremely high exposure” (UNU-EHS 2011). The Philippines has also been constantly included in Germanwatch’s Global Climate Risk Index, which analyses the quantified impacts of extreme weather events through number of fatalities and amount of economic losses (Kreft & Epstein 2013).

The Philippines, an “islands” nation, is clearly a climate hotspot. Several devastating typhoons that have ravaged the country in the past decade has not only claimed lives nor damaged the economy but has also stunted the development of the affected regions. While cross-border migration has long been a phenomenon in the Philippines due to economic reasons, it is now not far off that people will move due to environment as one compelling reason. The temporary migration that occurred during typhoon Haiyan in 2013 is a glimpse of this. The following subsection details the economic cross-border migration phenomenon in the Philippines. The sections thereafter discuss the role that this phenomenon has played during major typhoon events such as typhoon Haiyan and how this reinforces migration while also reinforcing cosmopolitan practices not only among Filipinos but other nationalities as well.

1.2 Cross-border economic migration phenomenon in the Philippines

Since the 1970s, the Philippine state has taken up a national modernization project that relies on the incorporation of cheap export labour and the regulation of overseas Filipino workers' (OFWs') remittances. In fact, a Labour Export Policy was adopted as a stop-gap solution, the primary purpose of which was to offer an alternative to the domestic labour market as a way to tackle a high unemployment rate (Cai 2011). The overseas employment strategy is believed to have brought about positive outcomes in terms of economic stability in the country, thus the policy still stands today (ibid). Correspondingly, the ratification of Republic Act (RA) 8042, the Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995², officially made labour migration no longer a fleeting phenomenon in the country. It is an “act to institute the policies of overseas employment and establish a higher standard of protection and promotion of the welfare of migrant workers, their families and overseas Filipinos in distress, and for other purposes” (p.1). The act significantly redefined the relationship between the state and its citizens living overseas (Rodriguez 2002). The role of the state then has become that of a manager of overseas employment. As the report from the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) stated,

“Many people see opportunities abroad and want to benefit from them. And there are labor-market gaps in the global economy that are best filled by labor migration. The challenge to Philippine policymaking today is not one of exporting the country's labor surplus; it is **managing effectively the natural process of labor migration**—which will continue even if we ban the outflow of our workers.” (DOLE 1995 in Guevarra 2003: 5, emphasis added)

² A significant event prompted this passage. In 1995, Flor Contemplacion, a Singapore-based domestic worker, was executed by the Singaporean administration for allegedly killing another Filipina domestic worker and the child in her custody. Contemplacion's hanging infuriated Filipinos everywhere who believed that the Philippine government could have intervened on behalf of Contemplacion because she was a Filipino citizen and a migrant worker who is one of the country's so-called 'new national heroes.' Following some mass protests, Philippine lawmakers were impelled to critically address the forms of rights and protections the state should extend to its citizens overseas (Rodriguez 2002).

The state oddly maintains that opportunities abroad are inherent processes of globalization and that the yearnings and ambitions of Filipinos to work overseas are instinctive responses (Guevarra 2003). The Philippine state has “institutionalized” transnational labour migration through which the country would gain from, thereby turning labour migrant population of an average of 10 million across the globe into a vehicle of economic growth (Camroux, 2008). Interestingly, RA 8042 also claims that overseas labor deployment is not “an official development strategy” of the Filipino government. Former DOLE Secretary Patricia Santo Tomas once said, “Overseas employment is a choice made by individuals. We don’t push them. But once they leave for overseas, the government is duty bound to assure that their contracts have ample provisions for their protection” (Pring & Roco 2012).

The Philippine state has undertaken a large scale labour export regime that has given rise to approximately 25 percent of the labour force working overseas (Lindley 2009; Solomon 2009). In 2012 alone, the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) statistics revealed that a total of 1.802 million OFWs, both land-based and sea-based, were deployed in 190 countries. Deployment means workers are sent overseas under the auspices of the Philippine state. The latest (2011) POEA Annual Report showed that the deployment of OFWs continues to rise every year, exceeding the previous ones. This “accomplishment” translates into an average of 4 624 OFWs departing the country daily (p.8).

Moreover, the Philippines has earned international recognition as a global model country for labour-exporting countries (Center for Migrant Advocacy and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 2009). The mechanism of migrant processing and protection system comprises of three major components: (1) the POEA which regulates recruitment and administer pre-departure orientation; (2) labour attachés positioned at consulates overseas providing on-site assistance to migrants, and feeding POEA with information about any labour market expansion or newly-opened labour markets to that the Philippines may deploy manpower to (Guevarra 2003); and (3) the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA) which serves as welfare centres for OFWs, covering the cost of emergency repatriation, and offering various services to families of OFWs. These governmental activities are financed by fees collected from migrants: a 100 PHP (approx. 1.60 EUR) clearance fee from the National Bureau of

Investigation and a 3 000 PHP (approx. 50 EUR) processing fee charged by the POEA. Moreover, OFWs pay the recruitment agencies which connect them to overseas jobs—officially not more than one month’s wages abroad (Pring & Roco 2012). Hence, although the Philippine state may not overtly confess that it promotes overseas employment, the very presence of this mechanism constructs and perpetuates the “culture of transnational labour migration” in the country.

Transnational labour migration is an effectual opportunity through which the country stabilizes its citizens to secure household maintenance and/or investments. From the USD 111 million (approx. 80 million EUR) recorded in 1976 coursed through the banking system, annual remittances as of 2013 reached the level of USD 22.968 billion (approx. 17 billion EUR) (Central Bank of the Philippines Statistics), making the Philippines the third largest recipient of migrants’ remittances, following India and China, respectively (The World Bank 2014). Judging by the numbers, the state has believed that transnational labour migration can incite economic development, thereby launching several programs to maximize the gains of overseas employment through the productive mobilization of remittances (de Vries 2011; Rodriguez 2010).

OFWs and migrant associations have been touted by the Philippine state as significant economic development agents. It is evident in the various heroic names the state has been attributing to OFWs: modern-day heroes by the Aquino administration, citizens of the world by Dante Ang (former Chair of the Commission of Filipinos Overseas), economic saviour by the Estrada administration, and overseas Filipino investors by the Arroyo administration; they have also been called new aristocrats and new ambassadors of goodwill (Weekley 2003: 4). These labels signify how the state disciplines workers as certain kinds of citizens – who are flexible workers for the global economy, who pay taxes to the homeland, and religiously send remittances to their families in the Philippines (Rodriguez 2002).

These OFWs, hereafter referred to as cross-border migrants, constitute an international network of Filipinos who are instrumental not only in keeping the Philippine economy afloat but also in constituting a network that may serve as a response to major environmental disasters in the Philippines.

2. Typhoon Haiyan and major environmental disasters in the Philippines

On average, a total of 19 tropical cyclones enter the PAR every year, with about eight to nine crossing the Philippines (Amadore 2005). Inter-decadal to multi-decadal variations in the intensity and frequency of tropical cyclones were observed from 1990 to 2004, when a record high of 32 tropical cyclones occurred in 1993 and a record low of 11 tropical cyclones occurred in 1998. Even the number of tropical cyclones in 2013 exceeded the average; there were a total of 25 tropical cyclones in the Philippines.

Prior to typhoon Haiyan, the Philippines has already experienced several record-breaking typhoons. On September 24 – 27, 2009, typhoon Ketsana (local name typhoon Ondoy) ravaged the Philippine capital of Metro Manila and had casualties of around 1 000 people (NDCC 2009). In total, it affected close to 5 million Filipinos living in the capital and caused damage of Php 11 billion (185 million EUR) to infrastructure and agriculture (ibid). As typhoon Ketsana was winding up, typhoon Parma (local name typhoon Pepeng) followed suit and further ravaged Luzon (Regions I, II, III, V, VI, CAR and NCR) and added another 700 casualties and Php 27 billion worth of damage (455 million EUR) (ibid). In 2010, super typhoon Megi (local name typhoon Juan) struck Northern Philippines, which had sustained winds of 225 km/h and gusts of up to 260 km/h and was said to be even stronger than Ketsana (BBC 2010). The initial estimated cost of damage to agriculture, fisheries, infrastructure and schools was around Php 5 billion (84 million EUR) (NDRMMC 2010). In December 2011, severe tropical storm Washi (local name typhoon Sendong) brought torrential rains to Mindanao and caused catastrophic flooding in the area before moving to Palawan (NDRMMC 2012a). Dead casualties were around 1 300 people (ibid). In December 2012, Mindanao was hit by its strongest typhoon ever, typhoon Bopha (local name typhoon Pablo). The NDRMMC (2012b) estimated casualties of around 5 000 people, and damage was estimated at around Php 37 billion (624 million EUR).

Typhoon Haiyan (locally known in the Philippines as typhoon Yolanda) made landfall in the Philippines on November 08, 2013 with sustained winds of up to 315 km per hour estimated by the Joint Typhoon Warning Center (JTWC) (Samenow & McNoldy 2013). Figure 1 shows the affected persons by province and typhoon Haiyan path. The Philippine government has officially pegged the death toll at around 6 000 people; however, empirical interviews with survivors and locals have turned up estimates as high as 20 000 to 50 000 people.

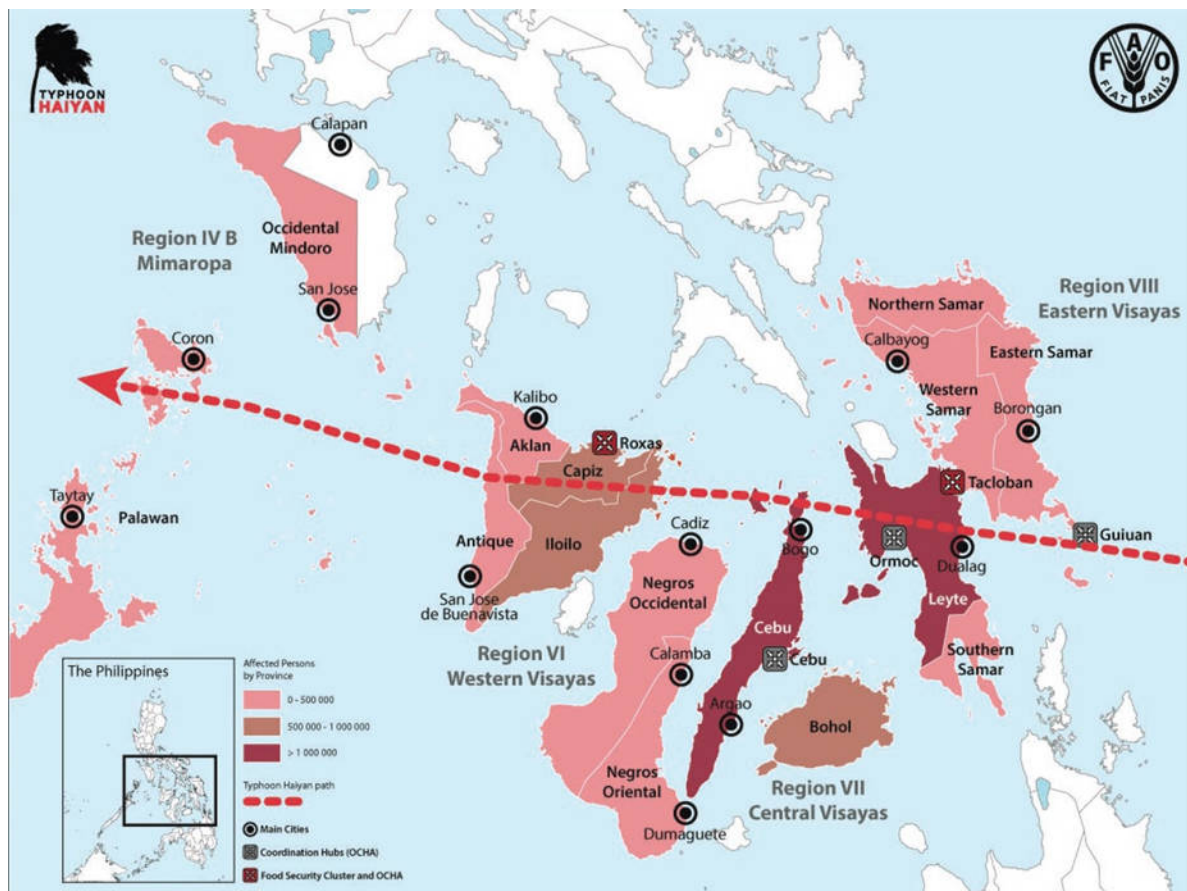


Figure 1. Affected Persons by Province and Typhoon Haiyan Path (FAO 2013)

Typhoons bring immense damage to the Philippines and major humanitarian assistance is usually extended by both national citizens within and outside the country and the international community. The next section investigates the key issues in which the proposed topic emerged: states' policy responses and their views on migration as an option to adapting to environmental disaster and factual relationship between changing environmental realities and migration.

3. Emerging transnational systemic responses to major environmental disasters

On the basis of existing empirical discoveries, two major interrelated arguments develop: the first points to socio-economic cross-border migration which can support the demands of environmental changes at the onset; and, second, that the dialogue and relationship between the phenomena of environmental change and migration can be approached through analyzing transnational migrant networks in the context of cosmopolitanism. These two points are deeply entangled as these types of migrant networks are intimately linked to emerging systemic responses to environmental change. As the following paragraphs show, two different but not mutually exclusive responses to climate-related natural hazard materialize. First, familial affiliation of those affected can reinforce migration through immigration relief opportunities such as those offered by the United States and Canada. Second, cross-border Filipino migrants and networks, with or without familial affiliation to typhoon victims, become transnational activists during extreme weather events in the Philippines.

3.1 Familial affiliation and its propensity to reinforce environmental migration

During typhoon Ketsana in 2009, Canada introduced immigration relief measures as part of their humanitarian assistance to the Philippines. The Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) of Canada released a Notice to Counsel in October 2009, which stated,

“In response to the recent typhoons Ketsana and Parma affecting the Philippines, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) has announced that it will give priority to the processing of existing and new applications of Family Class applicants under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (specifically, spouses, common law and conjugal partners, dependent children, parents, grandparents and orphaned family members) who are directly and significantly affected by the current situation.”

The said immigration relief measure was implemented until November 30, 2009 and all applications received from December 1, 2009 were processed according to stand-

ard procedures (IRB 2009). Expedited scheduling and processing as well as possibility of appealing on “humanitarian and compassionate grounds” were the benefits of the said immigration measure (ibid) for the Philippines, said to be Canada’s third largest ethnic minority (AFP 2009). Canada has also implemented this as a response to typhoon Haiyan. Since November 13, 2013, Canada has been prioritizing the processing of applications already in progress on request from Filipinos who are significantly and personally affected by the typhoon. As of April 1, 2014, there were 1,097 approved applications from those affected. 245 of those were Temporary Resident applications and 852 were for Permanent Residence. In addition, requests from Filipino citizens temporarily residing in Canada (i.e. visitors, international students and temporary foreign workers) who need to extend their stay will be evaluated in a “compassionate and flexible manner” (Government of Canada website).

There are over 1.8 million Filipino migrants residing in the U.S., some of whom are in status and some of whom are not, representing more than 4 percent of all immigrants (Stoney and Batalova 2013). Answering an emergent call for assistance to a major environmental disaster, the U.S. government and private individuals responded with humanitarian aid to the Philippines. Although the U.S. government has not granted “Temporary Protected Status” (TPS)³ designation to the Philippines, it has made certain forms of relief temporarily available to Filipino nationals affected by typhoon Haiyan. The United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) has instituted immigration relief measures to Filipino nationals residing in the US upon request. However, the availability period of the relief is not disclosed.

One of the options accessible is request for a change or an extension of non-immigrant status for an individual currently in the U.S. who is out of status. This relief opportunity applies to those who entered the United States on visitor visas, student, and temporary employment status. This measure can support Filipino citizens to re-enter lawful status by avoiding the negative immigration consequences (i.e. rein-

³ TPS is a humanitarian or “blanket” type of relief granted by the U.S. government to non-citizens residing in the U.S. who are temporarily unable to return to their countries of origin safely due to armed conflict, violence, and environmental disasters.

statement to lawful status when one's legal status has lapsed is not usually possible) of remaining in the U.S. beyond an authorized period of stay. Another relief measure that can be requested is expedited processing of immigrant petitions for immediate relatives of U.S. citizens and relatives of lawful permanent residents (LPR) with current priority dates. Immediate relatives refer to a spouse, parent, step-parent, child and step-child under the age of 21, of a USC and the spouse of a deceased USC. Some requirements need to be fulfilled: a step-parent or child will only qualify if the marriage creating the step parent/child relationship occurred before the child's 18th birthday; and, a USC filing a petition on behalf of a parent must be 21 years old. Other immigration relief measures for Filipino nationals affected by the typhoon involve extensions of grants of parole and advance parole, expedited processing of an advance parole application, expedited adjudication of an employment authorization application, expedited adjudication for off-campus employment authorization for F-1 students experiencing severe economic hardship, and assistance to LPR stranded outside the US without proper documentation establishing LPR status (Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security 2013; Reeves 2013).

Currently, efforts have been made by over 200 Filipino-American organizations across the US submitting requests to the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to grant TPS to Filipino nationals in the U.S. TPS beneficiaries and eligible applicants can obtain temporary authorization to remain and work in the U.S. for a set period of time. It may be prolonged if the conditions in the country of origin do not change (Official Website of the Department of Homeland Security 2013; Seguritan 2014).

The case of U.S. and Canada provides an exemplary case of humanitarian post-disaster interventions through loosening tight immigration and admission state policies. They represent how states could or should treat those people affected by a humanitarian crisis and of the protection they should receive. These particular states view migration not only as a reactive strategy but also a proactive one. Instead of regarding migration as a last-resort option, these states advance migration strategy as a coping mechanism and a way of adapting to climate-related natural hazard.

3.2 Transnational activism

By transnational activism, we refer to active citizens who use their rights to enhance the quality of political or civic life through collective action with the aim of giving voices to marginalized sectors of the society. We invoke the term “transnational” to refer to the scale as to which rights, duties and social practices cut across national borders. Transnational activists collaborate to govern the course of their own lives, advocating rights and justice in their own societies and are critical in holding states accountable.

Transnational activists in this study have direct connections with affected populations in their countries of origin and provide their aid through local channels (i.e. family members, friends or hometown civil society groups) instead of or in addition to conventional humanitarian assistance system. Through these connections with family and friends, transnational activists are more sensitized to humanitarian needs and the political situation on the ground in areas of crisis. Their awareness induced them to act and claim individual, or even communal, responsibility apart from merely pooling resources. In this case, networks of established Filipino migrants play a complex role in responses to environmental disaster. Some networks are more established than others; among those are community and/or area-based associations whose members live in the same city or region in the host country, not-for-profit organizations which address specific issues or areas of interest in the host and/or source countries and church/faith-based groups. What follows are bits and pieces of some transnational activists that the authors have experienced or come across in Europe. Some efforts were solely led by Filipinos, while some were conceptualized in cooperation with other nationalities.

In the following paragraphs, we detail cases of solely Filipino-led transnational activism. The two upcoming stories of Marc and Frankie are about fund-raising campaigns inspired by their friends considerably and personally affected by typhoon Haiyan. Marc, a Filipino working for an IT company in Budapest, initiated a charity concert as he was moved by one particular story of a friend who resides in Tacloban and an officer of the Philippine Air Force who was on-duty when the storm hit. He was helping and protecting the people through barricading houses. He came home and

found his wife lifeless and 2-month old baby missing. Marc aimed to empathize, to be in solidarity with the people who have lost their loved ones and to share their worries. He asked himself, “What can I do about it? What difference can I make?” The charity concert was his means to do his small part away from home and the event served as a vehicle for people to be aware of the devastation and get them talking about it. The success of the event was made possible through cooperation with his circle of friends/network of influential people of different backgrounds and nations. By donating the funds raised (approx. 2 500 EUR) to Református (Hungarian Reformed Church - a local charity organization) which sent a medical team to some areas affected in the Philippines, the aid reached the people efficiently. After the charity event, there are still some people donating to Református for the purpose of extending support to those affected by the typhoon.

In a similar manner, Frankie, a recent MA graduate of Bielefeld University, organized a waffle sale for charity in Bielefeld in order to help a friend who has relatives in the areas affected by typhoon Haiyan. Her contacts in the area wished to direct attention to the island of Malapascua - situated in the Visayan Sea, across a shallow inlet from the northernmost tip of Cebu Island - which they believed was being overlooked in comparison to the other islands and cities. The funds collected were donated to the division of the Ramon Aboitiz Foundation working in Malapascua. Frankie explains her active involvement in the fund-raising:

“I felt that the situation was a dire humanitarian crisis that put the government’s capabilities and resources to the test that required private persons so used to complaining about the Philippine government to put their money where their mouth was. While delayed disaster response is flatly unsurprising for a developing country, I was leaning towards the position that despite any preparations made, any other country would be overwhelmed by the unprecedented destruction wrought by Yolanda and the logistical and humanitarian nightmare that followed. I would have to say that I was interpolated into the act of helping more as a result of my friend’s request and personal empathy rather than a nationalistic act. I have taken part in a number of charity drives not related to the Philippines, and I cannot say that I had more or fewer emotions than I had while doing the donation drive for the Yolanda victims, possibly because people I per-

sonally know had not been affected, or because I cannot fully say that the Filipino people are more valuable to me than other areas of the world or urgent catastrophes. I did not feel that our actions could save anybody's life – that would be too presumptuous, but I hoped that we could at least feed a few families in their time of need.”

Comparatively, a half-Filipino half-Bosnian 13-year old student in Bielefeld, Princess, responded emphatically to the devastating news through asking her whole family to be involved in a fund-raising project. Over breakfast, they organized an event where people, mostly their friends and network, could donate food or sell some items to raise funds. They gathered 4 300 EUR and Princess, together with her grandmother, uncle and neighbour flew to Lambusan San Remigio Cebu and converted the money to school supplies, bags and school uniforms. Specifically, the family donated these items to Lambusan Elementary School. Their choice of place was based on their knowledge that Lambusan had scarcity of donations received from local authorities and that one of their family friends has relatives there.

One particular network of Filipino migrants in Germany has been engaging in not only contributing to immediate relief but also to long-term impacts. Philnetz Germany solicited donations from private Filipino and German citizens and distributed those funds to the victims of typhoon Haiyan in the provinces of Cebu, Leyte, and Bohol through initiating partnerships with Community Empowerment Resource Network (CERNET) and Central Visayas Farmers' Development Center (FARDEC) in January 2014. Both are non-governmental organizations based in Cebu City and have long been operating in the Visayas region. Funds are aimed to support rehabilitation and livelihood projects in the affected communities.

There was also an instance when Filipino migrants from Milan (Italy), Amman (Jordan), Bonn (Germany), and Lahti (Finland) remotely cooperated amongst themselves and supported several initiatives in the Philippines through whatever means. Marie from Amman coordinated the founding of an emergency response humanitarian team of a French NGO and was communicating with May from Milan and Andrea from Bonn in looking for people to be deployed in Tacloban. Isabelle, a chef from Lahti, was coordinating mass food cooking and was looking for chefs in the Philippines will-

ing to volunteer. In the case of these Filipino migrants, online social networks and instant messaging were useful tools in coordinating with each other and with other Filipino volunteers on ground zero.

An example of Filipino in cooperation with other nationalities' transnational activism is when Andrea, a Filipino student in Bonn, tapped into her networks in Germany initially in order to raise funds for indigenous peoples affected by typhoon Haiyan. Like Frankie, Andrea also chose to direct her fundraising efforts to areas that were being overlooked by the government or humanitarian assistance. Knowing the huge administrative costs big humanitarian organizations entail, Andrea thought of directly giving the money to victims instead of coursing it through bureaucratic venues. As a result, she not only donated to indigenous groups handled by Non-Timber Forest Products Exchange Programme (NTFP-EP), but also donated part of the donation to a local initiative ONE Tacloban. She was able to gather donations through different means. First, Andrea sought the assistance of Markus Wasmeier, one of Germany's former Olympic skiers, and sold handmade greeting cards at the Christmas Market in Markus Wasmeier's museum. A total of 635 EUR were sold during the event. Second, Andrea was also invited by a school in Bendorf for their own fundraising for the victims of typhoon Haiyan. Andrea gave a speech during the fundraising night and also offered handmade greeting cards to the students who were involved in the activity. Some of the cards were also sold in FaiRegio, a fair trade shop in Andernach, a few kilometres away from Bendorf. A total of 820 EUR was raised in Bendorf and Andernach. Lastly, Andrea also peddled the handmade greeting cards to her colleagues in Bonn and was able to sell around 225 EUR worth of cards. Andrea also gathered messages of support from the donors, which were sent to friends who were victims of typhoon Haiyan. Andrea said that her motivation for helping was a personal sense of duty to the Philippines and a deep concern for victims of typhoon Haiyan, some of which are close friends.

These empirical cases on emerging systemic responses to environmental change illustrate the factual relationship between changing environmental realities and cross-border migration. We have seen how several types and roles of transnational migrant networks are closely related to addressing hardship and expressing solidarity and empathy at the onset of environmental changes. In what follows, we engage in

further rumination about theorizing the links between the two phenomena of environmental change and migration. Therefore we ask, can those articulations of solidarity, empathy and obligation at distance be expressed outside migrant networks or social organization? How are these intertwined expressions drawn upon in a collective manner? In other words, how are these spaces and articulations with strangers and foreigners made possible?

4. Conceptual Issues

From a research standpoint, we do not propose for a causal understanding on the relationship between climate change and migration. Instead, for theoretical considerations and substantive research, we suggest that the dialogue and relationship between the phenomena of environmental change and migration can be approached through analyzing the complex role of transnational migrant networks in the context of cosmopolitanism. The empirical data presented in this paper point to the growing awareness of communal risks, such as environmental change, which is arguably encouraging a sense of shared future, thereby a collective responsibility in a transnational scale, not only among individuals but also among countries. We argue that this communality can be articulated as practices of cosmopolitanism surpassing ethno-nationalist affiliations and the nation-state model.

We draw on Vertovec and Cohen (1999) who claim that migrants and other transnational communities tend to express complex affiliations, profound connections and various commitments to people, places, issues and practices which are situated beyond the frontiers of their resident nation-state. Specifically, cosmopolitanism can be invoked as a political project towards building transnational sites of democracy progressively described as an emerging global civil society and a political project for recognizing multiple subjects (pp.11-12).

4.1 Emerging Global Civil Society

This global civil society is to be seen in a rampant increase in the amount and extent of activities of transnational social movements and networks involved in various is-

sues (ibid); environmental change being the case in this paper. Kaldor (1996) describes developments creating (a) cosmopolitanism from above, in the shape of international organizations, multifaceted partnerships and collaborative agreements between states, and (b) cosmopolitanism from below through the activities of emerging transnational social movements and networks.

Cosmopolitan from above shows its relevance in the case of the U.S. and Canada and their alliances with the Philippines. The U.S. and the Philippines uphold close ties as a result of the U.S. colonial period (1898-1946) through common democratic values, a security agreement and mutual strategic and economic interests. The contribution of U.S. military forces in Haiyan relief efforts augmented endorsement for enhanced U.S.-Philippine military cooperation, a concern that the two parties have been intently discussing in the last months. Aside from the short-term humanitarian response by the U.S., long-term foreign aid strategy for the Philippines and the impacts of disaster response on the U.S.-Philippines relations, along with regional geopolitical dynamics have been part of Congressional concerns (Lum and Margesson 2014).

In terms of Canada-Philippines relations, the former has an extensive background of providing development support in the Philippines. In the Fiscal Year 2012-2013, for example, Canada assisted in improving the facilitating environment for investment and creating economic chances for the poor with the overall aim of developing sustainable economic growth. Canada and the Philippines share strong and friendly bilateral relations, and as announced, Canada will continue to be a partner in post-disaster reconstruction and long-term development programs (Prime Minister of Canada Website 2014).

Cosmopolitanism from below is being invoked in the analysis as an understanding of expressing practices of individuals, regardless of ethnicity or citizenship, who openly engage in communal socio-political activities aimed at a sphere and scale crossing the boundaries of nation-states. As we see in this paper, transnational social movements and networks emerge through an agentic process initiated by empowered non-state actors and generate sentiments and goals.

According to Walzer (1995), global civil society acts to create citizens who care about the common good, namely the political community. Morality binds this community

and is rooted in shared communalities such as a common history, language, culture, or way of life. The affiliational soul of civil society is the existing ground where all accounts of the good are elaborated and established. Individuals willingly affiliate and communicate with each other, form groups of every kind, “not for the sake of any particular formation - family, tribe, nation, religion, commune, brotherhood or sisterhood, interest group or ideological movement - but for the sake of sociability itself. For we are by nature social, before we are political or economic beings” (p. 16). Walzer claims that what is real is that the value of our political and economic activities and of our national culture is closely related to the life and potency of our affiliations. Social solidarity then is bounded by the communal cultural understandings of people. The value of the social goods for the individuals among whom they are to be shared out are culturally shaped (Walzer 1983, 1995).

4.2 Multiple Subjects

This political project for recognizing multiple subjects can be traced to the ancient Greek Stoics and their claim that individuals are bound to their local affiliations or to ‘a series of concentric circles’ (Nussbaum 1994: 4), wherein each circle signifies a different kind or level of affinity: from self, family, group, city, and country, to humanity in general (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). Consequently, a person’s particular political interests are bound to swing from one ‘circle’ to another. Contemporary processes, such as migrant identification and the upsurge of identity politics, have encouraged individuals to engage in multiple affiliations. For instance, gender, sexuality, age, disability, ‘homeland’, locality, race, ethnicity, religion and creolized or hybridized cultures are among the key associations today around which the same individual may at one time or another politically mobilize (ibid).

In this paper, we see how ordinary people draw on the resources, affiliations, opportunities of the societies they live in to politically mobilize in collective action around an environmental issue and act as a response to a humanitarian crisis. In the process, transnational activists gain new attitudes, try out new forms of action in response to feelings of empathy and emerge with new identities as empowered individuals through their contacts within and across borders. More importantly, the agents/individuals draw upon a collective bond, a ‘we-feeling,’ a specific belonging to

a community, rooted in a particular situated relationship. As Rawls (1999a) puts it, having a duty to assist foreigners can be driven not “by self-interest but by mutual concern for each other’s way of life and culture” (p. 113).

All in all, what we propose is a more progressive implication of cosmopolitanism wherein agents, such as individuals and states, act not only charitably but also bounded by moral duties when they provide humanitarian assistance to the global needy. Future research on the relationship between environment and migration can focus on empirical indicators of practices of cosmopolitanism, for instance, transnational ways of life of migrant networks and their cross-border linkages.

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